1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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602 developed system of terms denoting social status, so in the
601 social organisation of the Andamans there are very few special duties between relatives, and the conduct of persons to one another is chiefly determined by their respective social positions. This will become evident as we proceed, and it will thus be shown that there is a close connection between the way the natives denote relationships and the way in which their social life is affected by questions of relationship.

581 We have already seen that in the Andamanese social
594 organisation the family is of great importance. A family is constituted by a permanent union between one man and one woman. In one of its aspects this union is a sexual one. By marriage a man acquires the sole right to sexual congress with the woman who becomes his wife. At the same time it is the duty of a married man to avoid sexual relations with other women whether married or unmarried. Promiscuous intercourse
836 between the sexes is the rule before marriage, and no harm is
584 thought of it. The love affairs of the boys and girls are carried on in secret, but the older members of the camp are generally fully aware of all that goes on. What generally happens is that after a time a youth forms an attachment with some girl and a marriage between them results from their love affair.

837 It is impossible, at the present time, to discover exactly how the Andamanese formerly regarded infidelity on the part of a wife or husband. In the Great Andaman there is great laxity in this matter at the present day. Quarrels sometimes arise when a husband discovers an intrigue between his wife and another man, but very often the husband seems to condone the adultery of his wife. Mr E. H. Man, writing on this subject, says that "conjugal fidelity till death is not the exception, but the rule," and adds, "It is undoubtedly true that breaches of morality have occasionally taken place among a few of the married persons who have resided for any length of time at Port Blair, but this is only what might be expected from constant association with the Indian convict attendants at the various homes; justice, however, demands that in judging of their moral characteristics we should consider only those who have been

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to obtain statistics as to the frequency with which such marriages occur, if they occur at all. 582

Beyond the prohibition of the marriage of near kin, I could not find any restriction on marriage. A man may marry a woman from his own local group or from another, from his own or from another tribe. That marriages between persons belonging to the same local group did occur in former times I was able to ascertain with certainty but I was not able to determine the proportion of such marriages to the whole number. It is probable that the majority of marriages, or at any rate a large proportion, were between persons belonging to different local groups.

Marriages are arranged by the older men and women. 584 Children are sometimes betrothed by their parents while they are still infants. I found one such case in the North Andaman, and the betrothed couple, though they were yet small children, were spoken of as being "married." Such betrothals are not very common at the present time.

When the parents of a youth who is of suitable age to be married perceive that he has formed an attachment with a girl, they take it upon them to arrange a marriage. The matter is first of all talked over between the young man and his parents. The man's parents do not themselves speak to the girl's parents of the matter, but request some one or more of their friends to do so. From the moment that the possibility of a marriage exists the man's parents avoid speaking to the girl's parents. Any communication between them is carried on through a third person. They send presents to each other, of food and other objects. The recipient of such a present hastens to make a return of equal value. If the marriage is arranged the parents on each side become related to one another by the relationship denoted in *Akar-Bale* by the word *aka-yat*. The duties implied by this relationship will be described later.

When a marriage has finally been arranged an evening 585 is appointed for the ceremony. In the North Andaman this is as follows. The bride is seated on a mat at one end of the dancing ground, her relatives and friends sitting near her. Torches or heaps of resin are lighted near by, so that the

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that the young are early instructed in the duties of hospitality, while the aged, the suffering, and the helpless are objects of special attention; that their moral code is not confined within these limits will be seen as I proceed.

4. The curious, but by no means uncommon,[1] savage custom of adoption prevails among them, from which, however, it must not be inferred that love of offspring is a characteristic in which they are at all deficient, for this is far from being the case.

5. It is said to be of rare occurrence to find any child above six or seven years of age residing with its parents, and this because it is considered a compliment and also a mark of friendship[2] for a married man, after paying a visit, to ask his hosts to allow him to adopt one of their children. The request is usually complied with, and thenceforth the child's home is with his (or her) foster-father (*mai-ōt-châ'tnga-*): though the parents in their turn adopt the children of other friends, they nevertheless pay continual visits to their own child, and occasionally ask permission (!) to take him (or her) away with them for a few days.

6. A man is entirely at liberty to please himself in the number of children he adopts, but he must treat them with kindness and consideration, and in every respect as his own sons and daughters, and they, on their part, render him filial affection and obedience.

7. It not unfrequently happens that in course of time permission to adopt a foster-child is sought by a friend of the *soi-disant* father, and is at once granted (unless any exceptional circumstance should render it personally inconvenient), without even the formality of a reference to the actual parents, who are merely informed of the change in order that they may be enabled to pay their periodical visits.

8. Foster-parents constantly manifest much opposition to any desire they may observe on the part of the lads they have brought up, to make a home for themselves, for the selfish reason that they are useful in a variety of ways, above all, when they have acquired skill in hunting, turtling, &c.; over the maidens little or no restraint is imposed, as their marriage entails but a trifling loss in a material sense on those who have reared them.

9. Human nature, however, is the same all the world over, and boys will be boys even in the Andaman jungles, so it is not surprising that, in spite of all the precautions taken by their

[1] *Vide* Lubbock, "On the Origin of Civilization," &c., p. 96.

[2] Whether this be the true explanation of its object and origin or not, there can be little doubt that it has the effect of greatly extending the intercourse between the members of the various encampments.

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572 597 836 584 seniors, a good deal of flirtation, and often something more, is carried on by the young people without arousing any suspicions as to their sentiments for one another, until the affair has become too serious to be broken off, and has to end, sooner or later, in their marriage and start in life on their own account. In some cases, when the guardians have reason to believe that a lad has, notwithstanding his assurances to the contrary, a *sub silentio* attachment, they adopt the following method for testing the truth of his asseveration; on a given day it is arranged by the friends of the suspected couple that they shall (without the knowledge of either) be painted respectively [302] with the red oxide of iron unguent, *kòi·ob-*, and the white clay *tâ·la-ōg-*, for, as they would not meet till night-fall, the risk of their discovering the trap laid for them is reduced to a minimum, while a glance on the following morning would suffice to betray them if guilty, and the guardians' object would be attained, for, from shame at his secret being known, and his falsehood exposed, the youth feels in honour bound to break off his connection with the girl, at least for some time.

582 597 **Relationships.**—1. In all the relations of life the question of propinquity is, in their eyes, of paramount importance, and marriage is only permissible between those who are known to be not even distantly connected, except by wedlock, with each other; so inexorable, indeed, is this rule, that it extends, and applies equally, to such as are related merely by the custom of adoption to which I have just referred.

[605] 601 2. A first cousin, actual or by adoption, is regarded as a half-brother or half-sister, as the case may be, and nephews and nieces almost as sons and daughters, while the terms used to denote a grandfather, grandmother, grandson, and grand-daughter are equally applied to indicate respectively a grand-uncle, grand-aunt, grand-nephew, and grand-niece.

3. Parents, when addressing, or referring to their children and not using their names, employ distinct terms, the father calling his son *dar ō·dire*, *i.e.*, he that has been begotten by me, and his daughter *dar ō·dire-pail-*; while the mother makes use of the word *dab ē·tire*, *i.e.*, he whom I have borne, for the former, and *dab ē·tire-pail-* for the latter; similarly, friends in speaking of children to their parents say respectively, *ngar ō·dire*, or *ngab ē·tire* (your son), *ngar ō·dire-pail-*, or *ngab ē·tire-pail-* (your daughter).[1]

4. Uncles and aunts on the father's are not distinguished from those on the mother's side; relationships are traced in both lines, and the system with reference to either sex is identical.

[1] Foster-parents employ the terms *dōt chá·tnga-* and *dōt chá·tnga-pail-* in referring to their adopted son and daughter respectively.

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able and immoral, which is turning the tables on us with a vengeance.[1]

4. In consequence of the lax code of morality prevailing among the unmarried, it not unfrequently happens that a marriage is brought about by the circumstance of the young woman being found *enceinte*. When this is the case, the guardians ascertain from her companions or herself who is the cause of her being in such a condition, and, whether it is an easy matter or not to decide this question with certainty, there never appears to be any difficulty in persuading the youth whom she names as her lover to become her husband. It thus happens that children are very rarely born out of wedlock.

5. Parents and foster-parents have the power of betrothing their children in infancy, and though subsequently, during childhood, they may be parted, the contract must be fulfilled soon after they attain a marriageable age; it is even alleged that, like the Yorubas,[2] the Andamanese look upon a girl betrothed by her parents as so far a wife that with her prematrimonial unfaithfulness is accounted a crime.

6. As soon as the betrothal has been agreed upon, the girl is taken to the hut of her future father-in-law, or foster father-in-law, and the children remain together for several months, in order that the fact of their engagement may become generally known; after this the girl returns to her old home, or is adopted by one of her father's friends. Should either of the betrothed pair die young, the survivor is not called upon to take any part at the obsequies, and is at liberty to form another alliance.

7. Until a man attains middle age he evinces great shyness in the presence of the wife of a *younger* brother or cousin, and the feeling is invariably reciprocated; it is, however, otherwise in the case of the elder brother's (or cousin's) wife, who, moreover, should she be many years his senior, receives from him much of the respect accorded to a mother. In the first of the above cases all communications are made through a third person, though under no circumstances would marriage be permissible between them; while in the latter it is almost obligatory, unless the disparity between the ages be very great.

8. It is not customary for lovers to intimate their desire of being married, but it is the duty of the guardian, or, in the case of widows and widowers, of the chief of the community, to

[1] On reference to Appendix I. it will be found that the terms which are used to denote *half-brother* and *half-sister*, are also employed to denote *male* and *female cousins*, showing how close they regard the relationship.

[2] Farrer's "Primitive Manners and Customs," p. 201.

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arrange matters for those between whom he observes there is something more than a passing attachment. 584

9. Although nearly all marriages are brought about by one or other of the above-mentioned modes, it remains to be added that an individual is now and then met with who is regarded as married though he (or she) has not conformed with the prescribed ceremony; this occurs when a bachelor or widower is found asleep in one of the huts occupied by unmarried females; he and the woman beside whom he was seen are then said to be *tigwâ·nga-*, which means that their union has been contracted irregularly. In such cases no ceremony or entertainment takes place, for a certain amount of discredit attaches to a couple thus united; but if their after conduct towards each other be considered satisfactory no unpleasant allusions are made to the past. 588

10. As they have no idea of invoking the aid or blessing of a Supreme Being, nothing of a religious character attaches itself to the marriage ceremony, which may be briefly described as follows:—On the evening of the eventful day[1] the bridal party assemble at the chief's hut or in one of those occupied by unmarried women. The bride (whether spinster or widow) sits apart, attended by one or two matrons, and the bridegroom takes his place among the bachelors until the chief, or elder, approaches him, whereupon he at once assumes a modest demeanour and simulates reluctance to move; however, after a few encouraging and re-assuring remarks he allows himself to be led slowly, sometimes almost dragged, towards his *fiancée*, who, if she be young, generally indulges in a great display of modesty, weeping and hiding her face, while her female attendants prepare her by straightening her legs; the bridegroom is then made to sit on her thighs, and torches are lighted and brought close to the pair that all present may bear witness to the ceremony having been carried out in the orthodox manner, after which the chief pronounces them duly married, and they are then at liberty to retire to the hut which has been previously prepared for their occupation. 585

11. Unless they have made arrangements to settle[2] elsewhere,

[1] I can find nothing to account for the statement, which appeared in Dr. Day's paper, to the effect that they "pass their marriage day staring at one another."

[2] From the fact that, sometimes from choice, and sometimes in compliance with the wishes of the bride—should she belong to another tribe—they settle down in another community, it has been inferred in Dr. Day's account that it is customary to spend the honeymoon away from their friends, but such is not the case. The same writer further states that "on the bridegroom's return to the tribe with his bride, *Jeedgo*, crying and dancing are kept up with great spirit." The word here intended is evidently *abjad·i-jō·g-*, but it means *spinster*, the word for *bride* being *abdē·rebil-pail-*. [591]

3: Temple G-5 (1901) 1903 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

The "womb-name" is called the *teng-l'ar-ula* and on the child being born, the words distinguishing sex by the genitals, *ota*, male, and *kata*, female, are prefixed to it in babyhood. The women's "flower name" precedes the *teng-l'ar-ula* till motherhood or advancing years, but is often used alone. As the "flower names" are of much interest, the following list of them is given in the Bea language. There are eleven of them and flowers, regarded as identical by the Andamanese, belong to trees sometimes of quite different species: a mistake that is made by peoples of much higher mental development.

Flower name.	Tree.	Flowering month.
Moda	(1) Semecarpus (Sp.) (2) Odina wodier	March.
Ora	Chickrassia tabularis	March.
Jidga	(1) Unidentified (2) Croton argyratus	April.
Yeri	Sterculia (Sp.)	April.
Pataka	(1) Meliorma simplicifolia (2) Terminalia procera	May.
Reche	(1) Eugenia (Sp.) (2) Rubiaceæ	June. July.
Chagara	Pterocarpus dalbergioides	August.
Charapa	Unidentified	September.
Chenra	Leea sambucina	October.
Yulu	(1) Unidentified (2) Eugenia (Sp.)	November.
Chilip	Diospyros densiflora	November, December, January and February.

The people are now ignorant of the origin of the flower names or of the cause of the selection of the trees above mentioned.

The honorifics *maia* and *mam* are prefixed out of respect to the name of elderly males and *chana* to all names of married women. Girls are addressed by the flower name and the elders by the honorific. Names are not much used in addressing, but chiefly for naming the absent or in calling.

Marriage Relations.—The Andamanese are monogamous, and by preference, but not necessarily, exogamous as regards sept and endogamous as regards tribe or more strictly group. Divorce is rare and unknown after the birth of a child, unfaithfulness after marriage which entails the murder of both the guilty parties if practicable is not common, and polyandry, polygamy, bigamy and incest are unknown. Marriages are not religious, but are attended with distinct ceremonies. Marriage after death of one party or divorce is usual. Before marriage free intercourse between the sexes within the exogamous limits is the rule, though some conventional precautions are taken to prevent it.

Portman tersely describes the marriage ceremony thus—

"When the elders of a sept are aware that a young couple are anxious to marry, the bride is taken to a newly made hut and made to sit down in it. The bridegroom runs away into the jungle, but after some struggling and pretence at hesitation, is brought in by force and made to sit in the bride's lap. This is the whole ceremony. The newly married couple have little to say to and are very shy of each other for at least a month after marriage, when they gradually settle down together."

Marriages are the business of parents or guardians and they have a right of betrothal of children, the betrothal being regarded as a marriage. Marital relations are somewhat complicated and quite as strictly observed as among civilised communities. Old books on this point generally ascribe bestiality and promiscuity to the race, but quite wrongly.

Death Ceremonies.—Deaths occasion loud lamentation from all connected with the deceased. Babies are buried under the floor of their parents' hut. Adults are either buried in a shallow grave, or, as an honour, tied up in a bundle and placed on a platform in a tree. Wreaths of cane leaves are then fastened conspicuously round the encampment, and it is deserted for about three months. Burial spots are also sufficiently well marked. Mourning is observed by smearing the head with grey clay and refraining from dancing for the above period. After some months the bones of the deceased are washed, broken up and made into ornaments, to which great importance is attached, as mementos of the deceased and as they are believed to stop pain and cure diseases by simple application to the diseased part. The skull is worn down the back tied round the